1: Métraux--15 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Plate I

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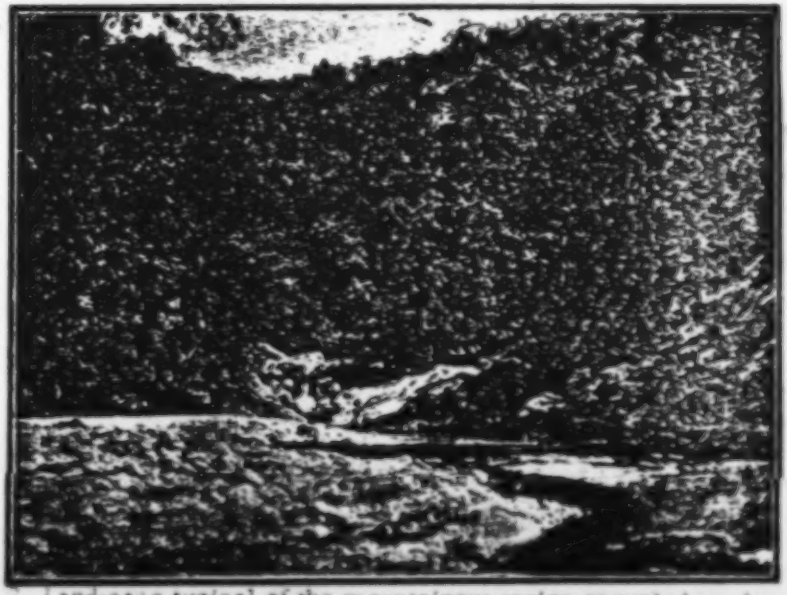
1. Panoramic view of the Franciscan mission of San Pascual de Boicovo (Huacaya Valley). (Photo. by the Reverend Father Honorato Catinari)

133



2. Landscape typical of the mountainous region occupied by the Chiriguano. View taken in a gorge in the neighborhood of the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo (Photo. by Reverend Father Honorato Catinari)

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/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garçia, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garçia came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guaranys, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garçia passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said Garçia until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garçia had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call payçunos, and that the chanes and the said payçunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called çorocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garçia and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xrisptianos in order to return with them for the said metal ..." /translated from the Spanish/.

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This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guarani all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

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G 114 127 175 167

/fn. 1 cont./ still present in everyone's memory. Even if we accept Garcilaso's version and make that event go back to the reign of Tupac Inca Yupanki, it is still no less certain that it could only have taken place in the last decades of the 15th century. It is indeed at this time, according to Balboa, that the emperor Tupac Inca Yupanki would have reigned. (See Nordenskiöld, 6). In this case the first Guarani migration would have preceded García's trip by about 50 years. Why then does Gandía, who himself gives us this figure, consider it more probable that this invasion took place more than a century before the Conquest? When I personally submitted to Mr. Gandía the reservations I had on the subject of the date he was assigning to the establishment of the Guarani at the foot of the Andes, he answered that he had taken as a basis for this evaluation a passage from Lozano (Descripción chorográfica...) and Mendiburn (Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú...). According to the latter the Inca Yupanki would have died in 1453. I shall reply to this objection by stating that the evidence of Lozano, who was satisfied to copy Garcilaso, has no value; and as for Mendiburn's calculation, I do not grant him any credence.

One single fact remains certain in this controversy: The Guarani had begun their migratory movement toward Peru some years before García's adventurous trip.

G 175 127 [114]

/316/ establishing. Neither was Alejo García's expedition the determining cause of the great migration of which Díaz de Guzmán (p. 29) speaks thus:

"Following these events (García's trip) the Indians of the Province of Paraguay met together with their caciques and

/319 cont./

there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands."

Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guarani migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting *by chance, living without fire or law*, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

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C 175 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, 2, p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

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C [174] [167]

C 114 127 175

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest...

C 114 127 175 148 [101]

Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Yupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Yupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

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Chapter II

Agriculture

241 The Chiriguano, like the Guarani and the Chané, their ancestors, are excellent farmers, and the working of the soil represents their principal occupation and their great concern. 243 For them corn is of prime importance; it constitutes the basis [273] of their diet, for it enters into the preparation of most of their dishes and in addition gives them their preferred drink, chicha or kāwi.

[132] The sandy lands of the western Chaco and its climate, [134] hot and dry a great part of the year, but also rainy during the summer months, seem to be particularly suitable for this grain. I have never seen such beautiful fields of corn anywhere. The ears are large, well filled out /334/ with kernels, and extremely tasty. The Bolivian half-breeds and settlers who are coming in greater and greater numbers to take the place of the Indians devote themselves like them to the growing of corn, which, with cattle-raising, is their main resource.

114 My trip to the Chaco, which took place from the month 243 of February to the month of June, did not give me a chance to [101] be present at the sowing which is done at the beginning of the rainy season. For many details I shall therefore be forced to [127] refer to Corrado (pp. 42 and 48), Campana (pp. 96-98), Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 181-184, and 10, pp. 23-24), to Nino (pp. 237-241), and Rosen (1, p. 205).

241 When a Chiriguano wishes to cultivate a new piece of 243 ground for himself and his family, he scours the environs of his village looking for a spot which may suit him and which is, in addition, easily irrigable. This condition is generally fulfilled by the lands at the foot of a hill or rising ground. The rain water which pours down there assures them of fertility.

/105 cont./

797 361 setbacks, and endured the bitterness of having some captured by the savages, but the establishment of the town is now an accomplished fact. It has a pretty church, consecrated at the end of July, 1908, and the only thing lacking is a priest in residence to attend to them spiritually with great care, because Machareti is quite far for this widespread parish (1).

1. The Christians who explored the territory of Carandaiti received the land promised; there is no potable water other than that of the ponds, which are in danger of being emptied. The preservation of this town should receive the attention of the Government of Bolivia for the sake of commerce, the cattle industry, transportation, and the prospect of new explorations to the east.

128 127 /106/ With the brief summary which I have made with reference to the missionaries among the Chiriguano and to the towns of whites built in the same region, presided over by the Franciscans of Tarija and Potosí, I bring an end to this second chapter, in which several opinions regarding the origin and point of departure of the Chiriguano for the region which they occupied, and with slight differences occupy at present, have been expressed.

There is no invention in it; by means of patient verification from different persons at different times, by consulting numerous authors, who, by study, reference, or in passing, have left something in writing, I have come to learn certain facts which, if they are believed here, are also believed in other places, and I have concluded that not all of it could be a fable, and as I have heard them told, so do I present them to my readers. This is the chapter which has concerned me most, and I do not know if the time, vigils, and the sleep of which my eyes have been deprived have been well employed; be that as it may, the public now has it.

/324 cont./

127 128 Some of the lithographs for Etnografía Chiriguana have been reproduced from the Anthropologie Bolivienne of Doctor Arthur Chervin, as well as others from the work of Señor del Campano, and the rest from photographs which I was able to get from some amateur photographers among the Franciscans.

Some of those of the first-named author and all of those of the second were reproduced from the album which is kept in the Potosí missions and in the Franciscan Colegio de Tarija.

If the author of the Etnografía had had the necesary time available and had been able to rely upon a collaborator, it would have been easy, most easy, to have reproduced with photographic apparatus important scenes, beautiful landscapes, enchanting panoramas, high and thick palm groves, immense beaches on great rivers, and other innumerable beauties which exist in the region. In a second edition all this could be done, if the Supreme Government would make available the necesary funds so that a scientific tour might be made through the entire region in the company of a photographer.

/325/ Table of Contents Page

Homage 1
Approbation of the work /omitted in the translation/
Author's acknowledgement to the Supreme Government of Bolivia 1
Dedication /omitted in the translation/
Introduction 4
Word to the reader 5
Foreword by Don Manuel V. Ballivián 7

Schwedenmuseum E-6,4 (1909-1909. 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

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PREFACE

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As I mentioned in the preface to the First Part of this work, the expenses of publication have been defrayed by Consul-General Axel Axson Johnson, Esq., of Stockholm, to whom I have taken the liberty of dedicating this, the second part of my book, as a small token of my appreciation of the interest and kindness he has shown towards my South American researches. I also mentioned in the earlier preface that Consul-General Johnson has in every way tried to further Swedish researches in S. America, above all by granting free passages to all the Swedish explorers visiting that continent on board his comfortable and stately ships.

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This work is based on collections made by me in S. America, as well as on the study of material in museums and of books (See Part I). I would remind my readers that these researches have been carried out with the support of Swedish patrons of research-work, notably Arvid Hernmarck, Esq., and Mrs. Ina Smitt.

C10

I have to thank several of my friends and colleagues for valuable communications, which I have made use of in one way or another in the present work. Thus are: Mr. Kaj Birket-Smith of the National Museum, Copenhagen (M. C.), Dr. G. Friederici, Dr. R. Karsten, Prof. Dr. Th. Koch-Grünberg, Director of the Ethnological Museum, Stuttgart, Dr. F. Krause, Ethnological Museum, Leipsic, Dr. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Leiden, Licentiate Sven Lovén, Prof. Dr. Max Schmidt, Ethnological Museum, Berlin, (M. f. V. B.) and Dr. Max Uhle. Every possible courtesy has been shown me by the Riksmuseum,

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Stockholm, through Prof. C. V. Hartman, Dr. G. Lindblom, and last but not least by its skilled attendant A. Törnblom. The objects described here which belong to the Riksmuseum in Stockholm, are marked R. M. with the number of their inventory, those belonging to the Museum at Gothenburg are marked G. M.

In the last named museum there are, inter alia, collections made by Lieutenant O. Liljevalch and Mr. Otto Thulin. The latter has supplied me with a number of valuable oral particulars which are reproduced in the following.

I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Lars Wåhlin, Head Librarian of the Stadsbibliotek at Gothenburg, for procuring rare books for me to consult and for translations of Latin quotations. As the works of Italian authors occasionally caused me some trouble, since I cannot read Italian fluently, Consul-General E. Correa was good enough to help me when in difficulties.

The illustrations to this volume are chiefly due to Mr. A. Hjelm and Miss A. Danielsson. Some of the stereotype-plates were kindly lent me by Mr. K. O. Bonnier, the publisher of my popular works. Most of the illustrations, however, were made by the Opla Company of this town from pictures not previously published.

The translation into English of my Swedish manuscript was carried out by two translators and revised by Dr. G. E. Fahrkus.

Schiedamschrift E-4,5 (1900-1909. 1912) 1920
3711 Chiriguano 3711
Chané 371

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corroborated by the accounts of PEDRO PIZARRO and XERES, who were eyewitnesses of the conquest of the Inca empire. In the high mountain country it is natural that hammocks should not be used as beds. In such parts they would be too cold. It is harder to make out why hammocks were not used in the coastal regions of Peru.

Evidently the hammock in S. America is so old a culture-element that it is impossible to decide whence it came to the Chané and Chiriguano. The latter certainly, and most likely the former too, used hammocks when they settled in their present territory. The technique employed in most Chané and all Chiriguano hammocks is the same as, with small variations, is mostly used wherever hammocks occur.

It is possible that some tribes about the river Amazon preferred palm-fibre hammocks to cotton ones, because the former are cooler. Possibly, too, in these regions of moist heat, hammocks of palm-fibre are less liable to rot and to be attacked by insects than those of cotton.

I here append a map (3) showing the distribution of hammocks of different material after PATER SCHMIDT, with certain additions, as will be seen from table 3.

The seat so characteristic of the Indians in great parts of S. America is a rather uncommon piece of furniture in the huts of the Chiriguano and Chané (Fig. 3). Its distribution in S. America has been investigated by PATER SCHMIDT[8] and SAVILLE[9]) wherefore I beg to refer to their works. In my own sphere of work I saw seats among the Quichua mestizoes at Calilegua, among the Mojo, Huari, Baure and Huanyam. The seat as a culture-element has its southern boundary here. It occurred, though rarely, among the Incas, where seats seem to have been the special privilege of the chiefs[9]). Most likely it is a culture-element which the Chané

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[8]) P. 1080.
[9]) V. a. P. 903.
[9]) Cobo Vol. 2. P. 170.

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142

To me, the Chiriguano seemed to be of better physique than both the Puilu and the Chaco Indians, and their cast of features, as a rule, to be less rough-hewn than those of the above-mentioned tribes. Herma ten Kate has taken anthropological measurements of four Chiriguano men, whose average height was determined at 1610.1 cm.[1] Lehmann-Nitsche, who has made anthropological observations of 50 Chiriguano (40 men and 10 women), is my authority for the data I have grouped together in the subjoined table.[2]

[141 [127]

The Chiriguano: some physical data.

Sex	Average height, cm	Shape of skull	Colour of skin, Luschan's scale	Colour of hair, Fischer's scale	Iris, by Martin's scale
Men.....	163.0	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 30	Majority 6	Majority 3–4
Women.....	150.1	Dolichocephalic — mesocephalic	Majority 18	Majority 6	Majority 3–4

142 The Chiriguano complexion is, accordingly, brown with a tint of yellow; the iris is dark brown, the hair black, coarse and lank. The growth of hair on face and body is very scanty.

361 The Chiriguano are not a nomadic people, but live in permanent villages, some of which are the abode of only a few families, whilst others contain several hundreds of inhabitants. At Itirbiti I was studying a Chiriguano village that, according to the Indians, was inhabited by about 500 people. This village was situated on a plain surrounded by wooded mountains (fig. 188). The huts formed a large circle, with the chief's hut in the centre. In the open space between the chief's hut and the rest, there were growing some close-foliaged trees (probably of the Bignoniaceae family), affording much-needed shade. In earlier literature it is stated that the Chiriguano used to build a hut for strangers in the middle of the village plaza.[3] In many of the Chiriguano villages I visited, the huts were scattered about without any perceivable order.

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[578 [609]

342 The huts are rectangular and with ridged roofs. (Figs. 188—190.) The walls either consist of perpendicular sticks, of tree-branches or reeds,

[1] Ten Kate (1), p. 46.
[2] Lehmann-Nitsche (1).
[3] Nordenskiöld (16), p. 6.

17 — 6. Boas. G.

G: Nordenskiöld--S.A. E-6 (1931) 1932 SF:1 Chiriguano SF:1
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Figure 57b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano case from L.A. 496 (cf. Fig. 54a /see p. 89/) shows some incisings.

One of the carved decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1. Fig. 116.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izoceño, I am unable to add to the few data which we knew on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

/60/ Among the Izoceño whom I found in Tuiuiú there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of these, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izoceño language which I wrote down. I met the Chiriguano only in Machareti, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the functions of a commissioner /comisario/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Machareti were identified as caciques.

In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izoceño, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of these Indians, referring to Moreno's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of E. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld